1: Karsten--46 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
721 (1928-29)

"The interior of the country of the Achuares is geographically unexplored, but is said to be inhabited by various Jibaro tribes who, as usual, are hostile to each other and make war among themselves."

"I made visits to several houses in the neighbourhood. Of the greatest interest was my stay in the house of an old man called Tuhuimbi, who [81] seemed to be in a way the chief of this small Jibaro tribe. It was here that I was first informed of the danger of war which was believed to threaten the Aguarunas from their enemies the Huambizas. I was moreover able to see with my own eyes some of the defensive measures which the Jibaros take in time of war. The whole house, amongst other things, was surrounded by a wall of strong chonta poles of nearly a man's height. The wall was so thick, the Indians explained to me, that a bullet could scarcely penetrate it, and if the enemy tried to shoot over it the bullets would only hit the roof. In other respects also Tuhuimbi was well prepared to receive an enemy. I found four firearms in the house, of which two were Winchester rifles. In a war between comparatively primitive tribes such a store of arms was no doubt of great importance.

In recent years firearms have been more and more used in the wars of the Indians instead of the old chonta lances, and the consequences of this change in the methods of warfare have naturally been revolutionizing. New kinds of defensive measures must now be taken. The lance and the shield have almost passed out of use. When I first visited the Jibaros--in 1916--it was an easy thing to get genuine Indian lances of chonta wood as well as shields; shields especially are now wellnigh unobtainable, and decent lances extremely rare. Instead of these ancient weapons the Jibaros quite commonly

make use of a primitive kind of shot-gun, muzzle-loaders, but Winchester rifles have also unfortunately been introduced by the rubber merchants. The trade in this kind of firearms has to a great extent been a consequence of the barter for the shrunken heads, prepared by the Jibaros and eagerly sought by certain whites, especially by North Americans. For each tsantsa the Jibaro Indian demands a rifle. In possession of this weapon he is able to carry on war with his enemies successfully, and to acquire new heads for further barter with those white travellers who are unscrupulous enough to pursue this dirty trade."

1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

l: Karsten--259
116, 721, 181

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Jibaros are no doubt at present the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. The blood-feuds within the tribes and the wars of extermination between the different tribes are continuous, being nourished by their superstitious belief in witch-craft. These wars are the greatest curse of the Jibaros and are felt to be so even by themselves, at least so far as the feuds within the tribes are concerned. On the other hand, the wars are to such a degree one with their whole life and essence that only powerful pressure from outside or a radical change of their whole character and moral views could make them abstain from them. This one may judge even from the fact that from a victory over his enemies the Jibaro warrior not only expects honour and fame in the ordinary sense of the word but also certain material benefits. The head trophy which he takes from his slain enemy is not merely a token of victory, but becomes a fetish charged with supernatural power, and the great victory-feast itself with its many mysterious ceremonies in fact forms a part of the practical religion or cult of the Jibaros.

l: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1.
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

1: Karsten--277-278 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas the small feuds within the sub-tribes have the character of a private blood-revenge, based on the principle of just retaliation, the wars between the different tribes are in principle wars of extermination. In these there is no question of weighing life against life; the aim is to completely annihilate the enemy tribe, all members of which form one organic whole and are animated by the same feelings and mode of thought. The victorious party is all the more anxious to leave no single person of the enemy's people, not even small children, alive, as they fear lest these should later appear as avengers against the victors. As already pointed out, it is also solely in such wars against foreign tribes that trophies are made of the heads of the enemies killed.

The wars of the Jibaro Indians are thus in their nature nothing but wars of revenge, and never aim at territorial conquests. The Jibaros, [278] in reality, fear and detest the country of their enemies, where secret supernatural dangers may threaten them even after they have conquered their natural enemies. The sorcerers of the hostile tribe may have left their witching arrows everywhere, on the road, in the forest, in the houses, with the result that the invading enemies may be hit by them when they least expect it. The land of the enemy is therefore abandoned as soon as possible. Besides, the Jibaros who inhabit endless virgin forests, where they can make new settlements almost anywhere have no need to conquer the territory of other tribes."

1: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 175, 721

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

2: Stirling--41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

"At the present time the Jivaros are without doubt the most warlike group in all South America, and it is probable that this statement would hold true for the past century. In this respect, however, they have merely retained a custom and a war pattern that was widespread in northwestern South America at the time of the conquest."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

2: Stirling--41-42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The type of warfare which enabled them to maintain their liberty against the European invaders was, however, considerably different [42] from the internecine fighting which they have always maintained among themselves. It involved the temporary alliance in a common cause of several groups of natural enemies who laid aside their personal feuds until their purpose was accomplished. The success of the great revolt of 1899 is probably due primarily to the fact that in the person of Quiruba the Jivaros found an exceptional leader in a time of need."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

116, 175, 721

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains.'(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

together. (60)

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.
61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and

are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without

warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends: and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

"64. Lucero, p. 27."

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation; each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer: their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
>
> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail: a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

2: Stirling--47-48 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name Cocarama,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of Copataza was annihilated, and at the same time the town of Palma in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bonboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, Cocarama."

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and spirit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christians of the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the same fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered this conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the Pongo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalico and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

"Prieto, in Compte, pp. 65-66."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

2: Stirling--50 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natima. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

"70. Banisteria caapi."

2: Stirling--51 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 866

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2: Stirling-- 52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"War is declared with a ceremony in which the lance is officially disinterred and carried into the jivaría. Immediately following this ceremony, an emissary is sent to notify the enemy. Following the conclusion of the ceremony, which may last for 24 hours, the attacking party leaves on its mission. Occasionally the enemy, after being notified, immediately launches a counter attack. However, the ethics of Jivaro warfare require that they too must sent an emissary in advance in such a case.

As a rule, while the ceremony is being launched, a messenger is sent out to notify all of the allies and friends. This messenger runs to the nearest jivaría carrying a lance which is relayed to another messenger from that jivaría, who in turn passes it on to the next, until in this manner all of the friendly houses have been notified, which fact is signaled by the return of the lance over the same route to its starting place. Each messenger, upon arrival, delivers a warlike talk, attempting to incite the occupants of the household to a desire to accompany the expedition. He tells of the strength that can be mustered, of the bright prospects for victory and of the glory and prestige to be gained by those participating in the fight. By the time the lance returns with the recruits the attacking party know what their strength will be and plan their tactics accordingly.

Any individual may be the instigator of such a raid, which follows some supposed hostile action on the part of the enemy, as described before."

2: Stirling--52-53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The emissary, who is sent out to notify the enemy that the lance ceremony has taken place, is always one of the most able warriors, as this is a rather dangerous mission requiring considerable skill, owing to the pitfalls and set-guns which he is likely to encounter when approaching the enemy's habitation. However, the messenger is rarely killed. In the event that he should be killed, the wishinu, [53] under the influence of natima, is supposed to get in touch with his spirit and receive his advices in this manner. Sometimes, instead of notifying the enemy verbally, a head is fashioned out of manioc or mud, in the form of a tsantsa, or some animal head is placed on the point of a lance and set up near the house to be attacked, in a place where it is sure to be seen."

2: Stirling- 60 [2]
116, 721, 202

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--60 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 411

"The blowgun is never used in warfare and, as has already been mentioned, only lances are utilized in the hand-to-hand fighting in the house.

Poison is never used in warfare because of the fact that it was given to men for the purpose of hunting game and to use it for fighting would be to offend the spirits. Force only is supposed to be used in killing enemies in war."

2: Stirling--61
116, 721

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The desire or obligation of revenge is the principal cause of war. This may happen as a direct act of reprisal brought about by the killing of one member of a group by another; it may also come about as a result of woman stealing or adultery. Perhaps the most common cause is the death of a member of the tribe which presumably has been brought about by the magic of the wishinu of another tribe. The Jivaro wishinu is supposed to have the power of sending death to anyone whom he desires. As a result, many deaths from illness or natural causes are laid to this source."

2: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout, we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 721, 609

"We had not come for war, and somehow an end had to be put to this clamourous deadlock. There seemed no end to the capacity of those Jivaros' lungs. For three long hours they yelled, with varying intensity. At times I would start up the bank in an attempt to get into conversation, but each time they took it for a hostile movement on our part and redoubled their efforts to persuade us of their strength.

The spell was broken in the end by my leaving my rifle with Game in the canoe and walking slowly up the trail which ran up in full view of the barricaded house nearest to us, suffering agony from my raw feet, but managing to cover the ground by reason of the soft sand. It was not more than a matter of fifty yards all told. I had gone a little more than half-way (with my six-shooter slung out of sight) when there emerged from the hut three quaking youths. The unfortunates had evidently been chosen for a parley much against their will, for I do not exaggerate when I say that their knees would barely hold them and their 'walk' resembled that of a man sick of the palsy. Indeed I was convinced at the time that they were really sick--that perhaps some disease had swept through the whole tribe of Antipas. I tried to [190] open the negotiations in Inca, in Spanish, and with every odd scrap of every language at my command, but all to no purpose. The Jívaro dialect was at the time unknown to me. I then attempted to calm them by offering my hand. The custom was evidently unknown to them for they searched my palm attentively to see what present I might be bringing. Finally I resorted to gesture--motioning them to the canoe as if to invite them to see what we had. They were for making me go

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 721, 609

first, but it is a safer rule to go last. So down we went in single file to where Game was sitting with his rifle across his knees, nursing his feet."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

4: Up de Graff--215 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 278, 721

"Despite its proved deadliness, this poison is never used by the head-hunters in warfare. (I say 'deadliness' with some justification, for it compares very favorably with, say, the poisonous snakes of India, whose bites take more hours to bring on death than the jambi does minutes.) Why, I cannot explain, unless it be that a man can snatch an arrow from a wound so quickly that the poison would never have time to be absorbed by his system, as it clings to the arrow-head in a gelatinous form. While speaking of this poison and its effect on men, I recall an incident that happened on the Yasuní when Jack Rouse and I were existing through those ghastly eighteen months. An open wound that had become fly-blown and full of worms (there was nothing in the nature of a fresh cut about it) had to be cured somehow, and every remedy we could think of had failed. The case was one of desperate urgency, and Jack declared that 'he would rather be poisoned than eaten alive by worms.' So it was decided that I should fill the wound with this same jambi, and I applied about a thimbleful, or enough to kill an ox. Neither Jack nor the worms took the slightest notice. Now it may be that his life was saved by the fact that there was no fresh blood flowing, or again that the poison, for some strange reason, has no effect on men, which latter supposition would account for its never being used in battle. I may add that the worms were summarily ejected in the space of half a minute by the application of a wad of cotton soaked in nicotine procured by condensing cigarette smoke on the finger-nails. (The juice of the same cigarettes when boiled has no value whatever)."

10: Anthony--148-149 (1920-21) 1921- Jivaro
116, 721

"Perhaps some neighbor in the same tribe has been selected as a victim and the Jivaro plans to kill him with as little personal risk as possible. These Indians are adept in the use of the long blowgun, employing poisoned arrows, but prefer [149] to do the man-hunting with guns which they obtain from traders. The approved method, when the raiding party consists of two or more individuals, is to surround the hut of the designated victim, and wait for the man to come out through the doorway. As he steps forth, he receives the contents of several muzzle-loading muskets at close range. Then the place is raided and all the women and children are taken prisoners. The women enter the household of the victor as wives, while the children are adopted and given the same treatment as the man's own offspring. That is to say, the captives are notconsidered to be slaves, but henceforth are a part of the victor's immediate personal family."

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

12: Rivet--615°
116, 437, 721

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

To sum up, properly speaking, commerce does not exist and the Jívaro until this day has no use for his energy, activity, and intelligence except in the bloody battles that his tribe wages ceaselessly against the neighboring tribes.

12: Rivet--615 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 181, 721

One could say without exaggeration that the state of war is the normal state of the Jívaro. The resulting constant strain obliges the native to live always on guard, always ready to attack or defend. He never knows the restful, beneficent calm of peace. In these forests of the Amazon, there is nothing but assaults, surprises, bloody scenes, and never-satisfied hates which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

The causes of these hostilities are very numerous: often it is the necessity of getting women or even the appeal of profitable pillage. More often it is a matter of vengeance to be satisfied, vengeance founded on griefs that are sometimes real but usually imaginary as we shall see when later we study the role of the sorcerer. The law of the talon is actually the only law that rules these savage tribes. But even if these diverse motives did not exist, the Indians would still make war simply for the pleasure of it, by an instinctive need of their nature. They are also driven by the desire to acquire that very special glory that the possession of many shrunken heads gives in a Jívaro country. These trophies are no less an object of pride to the savage than commemorative medals are to the European soldier. In addition to this, these human mummies are the center of many beliefs and of many ceremonies, so obviously superstitious in character that the study of them belongs with the subject of religious life. In this chapter I will describe only their method of preparation and their principal characteristics.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kanduashis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

Such are the customary methods of war among the Jívaros. Formerly, the tribes of Gualaquiza and Zamora practiced special tactics; these consisted of closing the roads and preparing enormous pieces of rock on the hilltops which overlooked them. These were rolled down on the invader.(1)

These details make the failure of the Incas', as well as the Spaniards', attempts at conquest understandable.

The existence of the savage is dominated by the perpetual state of alarm in which he lives. He never goes out at night in normal times; he rarely goes far from his house without taking with him his wives and his family; he is never separated from his lance, and during his sleep he always has it within reach of his hand. If two Jívaros do not recognize each other when they meet in the forest, the conversation begins at a great distance and each one keeps his weapons in the position of attack; if the tension relaxes, the point is little by little brought back toward the body and rested against the waist, the handle of the lance being pointed up; if confidence is completely established, the lance slides toward the ground, the handle resting freely against one of the shoulders.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador. vol. 6, page 214.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.

13: Rivet--69 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 181, 266, 721

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jîbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicençio, op. cit., page 360 . Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

"We passed an uneventful night, and with the break of a new day, the warriors who had sought advice of the great spirits returned home satisfied with the wise counsels received. The 'aru-tama' had appeared to each of them and advised prompt action, as everything was favourable for the complete success of their plans. According to them, the enemy, on his way homewards, would have to make use of a fallen tree-trunk spanning a particular torrent. It was at this point that Mihanda and We-suma were to lie in ambush, one at either end of the improvised bridge. The plan was for We-suma to spring from his hiding-place in the rear and challenge the enemy with his spear as soon as [181] he reached the centre of the span. The luckless individual would naturally swing round to defend himself, but at that moment Mihanda would leap up in front and deal the fatal thrust while yet his opponent's attention was diverted by We-suma's shouts of defiance at his back.

Indians are frequently accused of low-down tricks and a general lack of the so-called sporting instinct; but it must be remembered that the killing of a fellow-man is not a sport with them. It is a dirty business for which they have no liking, and the sooner they get through with it the better. There is no such thing as giving a man a sporting chance. Such a measure would be tantamount to self-annihilation. If an enemy has to be done away with, the task is carried out with a minimum of risk to the party planning the killing because his object is to exterminate and not just to juggle with death. •

Sometimes it happens that two Indians will meet accidentally on a fair footing, and if they do, there is no flinching on either side. One of them will never fight again."

20: Dyott--190-191 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 721

"In the afternoon, our two warriors left on their mission of death. They were both pretty well keyed up for [191] the occasion, and my companions felt thankful that we were not to be the object of their vengeance. Kuashu exhorted them to be brave, and with that both of them departed to take up their all-night vigil at the place agreed upon. It was considered a favourable omen that the rain had ceased, the sky was clear, and the evening sun shone blood-red over the tree-tops.

Shadows of night soon began to creep in upon us, the doors of the house were securely closed and our savage, yet kindly friends sought their hard sleeping racks like so many barnyard fowls, ascending to roost on a summer's evening. How strange it seemed to be in a place like this in the heart of nowhere, surrounded by such types of primitive humanity! The scene within this forest dwelling was eerie beyond description. Wooden posts stood blankly silhouetted against the uncertain fire-light. Slanting shadows slid obliquely over the earthen floor, and on the sleeping racks, bare legs and arms of slumbering Indians stuck out at crazy angles, suggestive of a cubist painting. Eternal peace had descended on the forest outside. The croak of a frog broke the stillness of the night air, and only the tropical moon, swimming in the deep blue canopy of heaven, spoke of the world I knew and assured me of the reality of the scenes before me."

25: Vigna--47[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 721

Vengeance which is hereditary is sacred law for the Jíbaro. Once the vengeance is organized and prepared, the Jíbaro calls together many members of his family or friends to accompany him on his task. While their courage is exalted by means of abundant libations of chicha or by violent provocative discourses, they organize the preparations which are always secret and scrupulously detailed. The action which follows is always violent and treacherous. It is a curious phenomenon that the Jíbaro who has no secrets, knows how to conceal his projects of vengeance.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

28: Tessman--354-355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

One might be tempted to call the war the true religion of the Chiwaros... One is all the more inclined to say this, since warlike acts are in most cases acts of revenge for enchantments so that these warlike expeditions constitute religious acts of revenge against evil sorcerers. But whatever excuses and reasons one may discover, the fact remains that murderous thoughts have become a standard principle of the Chiwaro way of life. For example, one of the Aguarunas whom I had with me in the headquarter of the expedition said to me that "his heart was disquieted because he did not know whom he could kill now."

The Chiwaros live in a permanent state of war against parts of their own tribe, that is to say, Aguaruna is fighting against Aguaruna. And parts of the subtribes fight against other subtribes (for instance, the Aguarunas against the Uambisas). Of course, they also fight against other tribes and also against the whites. The Spaniards were rather badly beaten by the Chiwaros, who were never [355] completely subjected by the whites. The Chiwaros destroyed and ransacked whole settlements (like Borja), killed the men and abducted the women, etc. Later, they made raids on Peruvian outposts and killed a large part of the garrison. Today the Peruvian government, as centruies ago the Spaniards, does not dare to punish the most war-like of all the east-Peruvian Indians so that conditions along the Santiago today are just as insecure as they had been at the time of the Spanish colonization.

31: Danielsson--86 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 721

,"Great hostility exists generally among and between the various geographical groups, and wars of extermination are often waged. It is at these occasions that the head-trophies are taken and prepared, thus giving the Jibaros their popular name: The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas."

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the warlike character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women.(3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 181, 628, 721

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87]is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[9]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general way. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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926 924 924 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

926 924 924 [926] The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home [587] and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

924 918 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the power of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

[183] By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[921] [961] 924 Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
342 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
546 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
• [721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Ifugao
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms. The
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the corner
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof. Special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs, low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the face rests on a slender cromplance supported by
359 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

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but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jivaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chigüaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*akuari hunt*) to retreat northeastward from the Chigüaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*wampu hunt*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[10]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *tsantsa hunt* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades or less, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects.

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded.

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tayamasa*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-E/

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six, but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 [825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 292 301 [237] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemar*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a

884 [721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-

[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 884 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and

[824] [276] [787] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days. The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration

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When you are living well, then, with all your *tsé* and *yuí*, if someone comes and kills your *tsé*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yuí*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *uwai*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 131–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for trophies. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, [562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such [581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untă* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 • 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721 •
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778] such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558] killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602] ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592] could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
901 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
• 721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such *non-untsuri kuri* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsuma kuri* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*untsuri*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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441 592 593 [602] of *shiingri* and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*awsii*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yamaii*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligations which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 628 • 721 [592] The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *emigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *emigri* is absolutely essential when a Jivaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *emigri* institution, well-developed Jivaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *emigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back.

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *awigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *awigri*, Mukuiam, of the *yaŋuntsa* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuaiä, in the *Jaŋuŋ* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuaiä then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos.

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *awigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampútsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampútsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa.

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

774 Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
778 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a per-
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[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

798 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
• 721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
774 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

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774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakaram*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
• [721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natema*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
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definitely—enslave the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[9] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *wakani* emits power, but it is believed that the *wakani*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *wakani* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *wakani* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huará* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *wakani* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721 •
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be
taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the
"hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *nuisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation
in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *nuisak*. Because the tree [796]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. [796]
At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow
manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam*
soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human
tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive. The *nuisak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single aveng-
ing form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head 727
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 796
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 774
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 776
previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts.
Through ritual procedure, the *nuisak* of the new victim is
believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two
tsantsa celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nam-*
per) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of
the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Oc- 796
casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

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the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if
[276] one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[787] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[628] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[721] and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive
[682] an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquility.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untă*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untă* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 727 554 624 796 342 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsaimči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*nuisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *nuisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *nuisak*, while it is resident in the

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tial garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 721 441 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose participants and their relatives have a vested interest in the maintenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 411 726 [342] [712] [714] Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 342 411 712 726 Changes in house construction during the past few decades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of firearms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
• 721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
• 721 through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro